



THE New Republic

**Oil and Politics
in North Dakota
by Robert Engler**

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DIVIDED DEMOCRATS

“Some . . . prefer a strategy of conceding Eisenhower’s re-election. Others prefer to acknowledge Ike is a Republican, fight him as such and hope his almost incredible luck will peter out before November.” — TRB

NEW BOOKS

Reason and Religion *Reinhold Niebuhr*
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Rodell on the Supreme Court *Alan F. Westin*
A Portrait of St. Bernard *by Anne Fremantle*

SEPTEMBER 12, 1955

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Washington Wire T.R.B.

Almost everywhere the Democrats look this fall they see vistas of peace, prosperity and Eisenhower. It is a bleak prospect for a party out of power and wanting in. At this point Democratic thinkers don't quite know what to think. Some, like Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, seem to favor a strategy of conceding Eisenhower's re-election, at least tacitly, and then proceeding to campaign for a Democratic Congress on the theory that Ike will need it to put through what he chooses to call his "program." Others, like Democratic National Chairman Paul Butler and former President Harry S. Truman, prefer to acknowledge that Ike is a Republican, fight him as such and hope that his almost incredible run of luck will peter out before November, 1956.

Democrats both of the run-with-Ike and run-against-Ike schools agree that their party has some valid issues. It has the various giveaways to business by the businessmen with whom the President has surrounded himself, for example, and it has the Administration's palpable indifference to civil liberties. But practical politicians regard these as issues of limited appeal. A prosperous voter, they tell you, doesn't get very excited about a government gift to another prosperous voter or about encroachments on somebody else's constitutionally-guaranteed liberties.

However, declining farm income is something else again. It directly affects one large segment of the population and indirectly affects many others. It was trouble on the farm that presaged the great depression of 1929; it was relative contentment on the farm that re-elected Truman in 1948. The figures are impressive: In 1947, total farm income reached an all-time high of \$16.8 billion; in 1954, it was down to \$11.6 billion; this year it may sink to \$11 billion even though this has been an extraordinarily productive season. This represents a decline of 30 percent since the postwar peak. And farm prices fell

off another two percent in the last month.

On the basis of the unadorned statistics, it would be reasonable to expect farmers to be waylaying government officials with pitchforks. The reason they aren't is that farmers who have survived the 30-percent drop and are still in the farming business aren't as badly off as the figures on over-all income suggest. Declining prices have had the effect of driving marginal and small farmers off the land into industry, where, thanks to industrial prosperity, most of them have found employment. Because there are many fewer farmers now than there were in 1948, those who remain on the land, even though they share a smaller pie, get almost as large slices as then. It is estimated that individual farm income is down only about six percent. Also, land values are up and the total of farm debt is down.

Nevertheless the decline in income is substantial enough to frighten Republicans from the open spaces and to encourage Democrats from the same areas. Last week Sen. Andrew W. Schoeppel, Republican member of the Agriculture Committee, talked about the "bad situation" in farming and suggested that the Administration might have to do something about it at the next session of Congress. Meanwhile, Butler called a meeting of Democratic farm experts in Chicago for Sept. 19 to "re-examine . . . agricultural problems."

Recently the so-called farm issue has tended to resolve itself into a contest between those who favor rigid 90-percent parity price supports for basic commodities and those who favor flexible supports. In a general way, the Democrats, who originated the rigid-support program to encourage production during the years of war-induced scarcity, still favor this system, whereas the Republicans, following Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson and President Eisenhower, prefer flexible supports on the theory that it is senseless to pay high bounties to insure production of

more high-priced surpluses. However, the issue, when drawn this way, bends and breaks party lines. The House passed a rigid support bill at the last session but high-ranking members of the Democratic Agriculture committee, including Democrats, put it on ice because they didn't like rigid supports any better than their Republican opposite numbers did. So it won't be as simple as it looks at first glance for the Democrats to cash in on farm discontent.

If the Democrats can come up with something that will satisfy the farmers without piling surpluses still higher, they may have something useful for 1956. Benson's experts are talking about unloading surpluses on the Russians but that doesn't seem very practical since the Russians have nothing the US wants to take in trade. More gold for Fort Knox wouldn't be very useful.

Whether it accomplishes anything else or not, a thorough Congressional review of farm legislation is almost sure to have a deflating effect on Benson's reputation. Because he has had the courage of his convictions, a rare and conspicuous thing in this Administration, he has looked by comparison with some of his colleagues like a statesman of towering stature, an appraisal which closer inspection will scarcely sustain.

Solicitous as always about members of "the team," most newspapers ignored a letter recently brought to light by the *Buffalo News*. It was from Benson to Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, then Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, saying a good word for Benson's friend Fred J. Hart, President of the Electronic Medical Foundation of San Francisco, which had been enjoined by the Food and Drug Administration from shipping its medical machines in interstate commerce because they couldn't cure diseases, as claimed. In its complaint, the government agency recounted that it sent a drop of coal tar dye to Hart's foundation to test its claim that it could diagnose ailments from sample drops of blood. The diagnosis it got back was "systematic toxemia." Benson told Mrs. Hobby he and members of his family had used Hart's machines and felt that "they had given us some help." Farm ills won't be cured by electronic devices either.

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Can Khrushchev Bring Iowa to Siberia?

COMBINES have begun to move through Soviet wheat fields, and corn is ripening in the Ukraine. This is the last harvest in current 5-year plan, and a crucial one for Nikita Khrushchev, who takes personal responsibility this year for Soviet food production.

The target of 180 million tons of grain set by Stalin in 1950 for the current 5-year period was never remotely in sight. In fact total grain yields stood still at about 130 million tons during 1953 and 1954, the Malenkov period, and grain available for each Russian was then a little lower than it was during the last years of the Czars.

This year Khrushchev called for a mighty effort to raise 20 million additional tons from the "virgin lands" of Siberia and about 15 million tons of additional corn in southern Russia. Final harvest figures will not be known until November, but sometime in the next 60 days Mr. Khrushchev will appear before the All-Union Party Congress to report on his stewardship as agricultural boss.

Harvest reports in the Soviet press, and those brought home by the American farm delegation which toured the Soviet Union, are ominous. Rainfall was good in the Ukraine, and yields are expected to be normal in this traditional granary, but in the vast grasslands of Asia, plowed for the first time in living memory, the news is disappointing to Moscow. Rainfall was scant, in some areas only one-tenth of last year's. Dust storms blew in July and August. New wheat fields in Kazakhstan which yielded 15 bushels to the acre in 1954 will produce only 5 bushels this year, one of the American travellers reported. Such a yield will not pay for the cost of planting.

The odds were heavily against Mr. Khrushchev when he set his targets because he is faced with a problem which has never been solved by man. The answer is not Iowa know-how or American small-farm machines, which the Russian visitors admired. The blame cannot be

placed rightly on the Communist farming system, although Iowa "kulaks" have attained a productivity—that is, output per man—that is five times greater than the Russian average. The central problem, the insoluble problem, is this: *Nature endowed the Soviet Union with low rainfall and a short growing season which are unsuitable for good wheat or corn production in any region except the southern Ukraine.*

These limitations have been stressed in a careful study of Russia's food producing ability by Dr. J. T. Sanders, former professor at the University of Wisconsin, now a consultant to CARE. His conclusions are pointed at both the virgin land project and Khrushchev's heralded corn-hog panacea.

Take Siberia for example. Productive farm soils in Asiatic Russia stretch 3000 miles from west to east, but only 100 miles wide, crowded on the south by deserts and on the north by a cold zone in which early and late frosts will destroy any grain crop. Even in this long ribbon of good soil a crop is a gamble, destroyed some years by drought and others by frost. Primarily for these reasons, Dr. Sanders writes, per acre yields

of wheat in the United States average around 50 percent more than those in Russia, and climatic variations in Russia are twice as great. In other words, the risk of a bad crop in Russia is twice as great.

Against these climatic limitations, the Khrushchev plan to introduce the Iowa corn-hog system is an even greater gamble. Corn requires a moist warm climate and a full growing season, free from frosts. Yet Dr. Sanders points out that in the far south of Russia, at Odessa on the Black Sea, the average growing season is a month shorter than in our Corn Belt, and is actually equal to that at Duluth, Minnesota, or Bismarck, South Dakota. An early frost is always a probability. The average summer temperature in this best of Russian corn land is about 45 degrees, or 20 degrees colder than the average in our Corn Belt. In fact both Duluth and Bismarck have warmer summers than any available corn land in Russia. Adequate rainfall is also lacking in the Russian cornlands. The American Corn Belt averages 20 inches of summer rain, Russia's less than 11. Bismarck, North Dakota, gets more rain than Odessa, yet Bismarck is considered on the extreme fringe of the corn land.

With no excess of national pride it

Time versus Times

"At dusk one day last week, Ike boarded the *Columbine* and left for Hartford and points east. Aboard the presidential plane was young David Eisenhower, on his way home from summer camp and a week with grandfather. As soon as the *Columbine* was aloft, David, at his grandfather's insistence, exchanged his Davy Crockett outfit for a pair of white pajamas with dots. Within a few minutes he was snug in a berth in the President's private compartment. Ike turned in soon after. Next morning Ike was up early,

peering from his window for glimpses of the flood damage. An Air Force steward put an enormous breakfast tray in front of him (orange juice, cantaloupe, filet mignon, mashed potatoes, Melba toast and coffee), but Ike, preoccupied with the tragedy below, merely toyed with his meal."

Time, September 5, 1955

"Eisenhower's View Cut Off By Clouds Over Flood Sites."—Headline in *The New York Times*, Aug. 24, 1955.

can be said that American farmers work with nature, and Russians against it, when they employ the Iowa system of corn and hogs. But Russians think they can surmount the obstacles. In Moscow last month the Soviet Government announced that research was expected to solve many of these climatic problems. An early maturing corn and a drought-resistant wheat are two of the specific goals on the research list.

If the Russian farm visitors made inquiries on American corn research, they can report that the United States tried to solve Mr. Khrushchev's problem more than 30 years ago. As early as 1922 the University of Wisconsin and other universities were trying to grow corn in refrigerated plots, to see if a plant could be developed that would grow farther north than the limits imposed by the early frostline. Some progress was made, but every variety which required a shorter growing season had a lower yield. And today, after 30 years of plant experiments, the northern boundary of the Corn Belt remains exactly where it was at the beginning of the twentieth century. Cross-breeding, in-breeding and selection made no progress against the frostline.

And with population concentrated in the western portion of the country, and agricultural lands stretching like a thin ribbon to a length of 500 miles, the Soviet Union has the costliest farm transportation problem of any country in the world.

In the US, by contrast the best agri-

cultural lands lie in a compact triangle, and the average haul of foodstuffs is less than a fifth that in Russia.

The Russians have shown surprising scientific talent, notably in advanced physics and military engineering. It would not be wise to discount the work they are setting out to do with corn. But years of American research leads to the conclusion that Russia from now on will be a poorly fed nation because nature was skimpy on rainfall and length of growing season, which are indispensable for wheat and corn. When the Bolsheviks of 1917 fulfilled their promise to give the peasants white bread from wheat instead of black bread from rye, they sacrificed 20 percent of their grain output, because they moved wheat into a colder climate near Moscow than was more suitable for rye. They have never recovered that food loss. Now with Soviet population growing at the rate of 3 millions a year, Russian farm improvements will do well to maintain the present grain supply for each citizen. This is not a crisis but a chronic ailment.

The deficit in the Khrushchev plan this year may not jeopardize his political fortunes. But over the years the unfriendly climate of Russia will tie up more man power and yield less food per man than will be the case in the US.

Vitamins and Racism

In the midst of the furor this spring over the Salk vaccine, thousands of Americans must have been startled to

view pamphlets with little white coffins on them, and the charge that the Salk vaccine was really "Murder, Inc." The prolific pamphleteer responsible for these charges was Duon Miller, the president of an organization called Polio Prevention, Inc., with headquarters in Coral Gables, Florida. To Miller, a well-to-do patent medicine manufacturer, and large-scale breeder of boxer dogs (which he sells only to white Gentiles), polio is simply a disease of malnutrition avoidable by eating "natural foods" and eliminating "cola" drinks and refined sugar. The Salk vaccine is "monkey juice" and its proponents are "the forces of anti-Christ fighting Christianity in their sneaking attempt to violate and contaminate the bodies of MILLIONS of innocent little children with FRAUDULENT polio vaccine." This "heinous crime against nature is another YALTA-shindig." Miller believes The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis is "brainwashing" the country in a mercenary racket to extort millions from all of us and that all vaccination "is an unmitigated evil, a crime against nature . . . a definite un-Christianlike interference with HEALTH. In addition, he thinks pasteurization is "a national menace" and that "when a child's bloodstream is polluted with Gamma Globulin or blood plasma, how do you know if it is from a white person, a Negro or a Jap?"

On July 8, 1955, a Miami federal judge fined Miller \$1,000 and placed him on probation as a result of his campaign against the Salk vaccine. Miller pleaded no defense to a charge of sending "libelous, scurrilous and defamatory" matter through the mails.

One might be tempted to dismiss Miller as an aberration, were it not for the fact that his pamphlets were distributed so widely throughout the country. Mrs. Lyril Clark Van Hynning, one of Chicago's best-known hatemongers, kept a large stock of Polio Prevention literature on hand. E. A. Larsen, Seattle leader of Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade, promoted Miller's literature. Among the imposing list of people calling themselves "Dr." on Polio Prevention's Board of Consultants are names associated with other attacks on science, including Dr. Royal Lee of Milwaukee.

Lee, a non-practicing dentist who sells "vitamin" products, is best known for

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his attacks on fluoridation. According to the *Milwaukee Journal*, Lee has been convicted in federal court for misbranding his products by claiming they would cure 41 different ailments. Besides fluoridation, Lee opposes vaccination, chlorination, vivisection, pasteurization and cooking in aluminum ware. The *Milwaukee Journal* points out "there is no question about the effectiveness of Lee's work against fluoridation." During the past six months fluoridation referendums have been held in 25 communities and only approved in seven. Many cities already fluoridating their water have abandoned the practice after attacks by Lee and some of his associates. Among his associates is "Dr." E. H. Bronner of Los Angeles with whom Lee has traveled about the country attacking fluoridation. Typical of the remarks of Dr. Bronner, who is not a physician, were those he made in Seattle where fluoridation was defeated in a 1952 referendum by a 2-1 vote. Bronner told Seattle voters that fluoridation was a Communist plot, collectivism and socialized medicine.

Other professional anti-Semites, always eager to find an area where people have anxieties and fears, have latched onto fluoridation.

Among the most rabid critics of fluoridation is W. D. Herrstrom, a longtime associate of Gerald Winrod. Herrstrom contends that the use of fluorides is part of a sinister plot, promoted by Jews to enslave the American people. He contends, however, that he's "not against the Jews—only the Kommunist kikes." Gerald L. K. Smith has also carried on a vigorous campaign against fluoridation in his monthly magazine *The Cross and the Flag*. He contends that fluoridation "is known in Communist circles as a vehicle of Red warfare." Many of America's anti-Semites, including Conde McGinley, have got into the act. Typical is the innuendo in *Women's Voice*: "Note that where most Jews live (New York, Chicago, Los Angeles) the water supplies are *not* fluoridated, but that cities like Baltimore (Naval Base) and Pittsburgh have been concentrated on; don't forget San Diego (Naval Base.) Think it through."

Although it has never reached the best-selling lists, one of the books widely recommended as authoritative by Duon Miller, Winrod, Lyril Van Hynning and other health fanatics is *The*

EISENHOWER INTELLIGENCE

The quotations which follow appeared without comment in a recent issue of the *SPECTATOR*, a British weekly.

"NOTHING GUIDES Russian policy so much as a desire for friendship with the United States."—General Eisenhower, November, 1945.

"IN THE PAST (*i.e.*, before 1945) relations of America and Russia there was no cause to regard the future with pessimism. . . . Both were free from the stigma of colonial empire-building by force."—General Eisenhower in *Crusade in Europe*, 1948.

"THE LANDS and the millions made captive to the Kremlin are fresh evidence that dire peril stalks every free nation today. Tyranny must feed on new conquests, else it will wither away. . . . Dare we rest while these millions of our kinsmen remain in slavery? We are threatened by a great tyranny—a tyranny that is brutal in its primitiveness. It is a tyranny that is at-

tempting to make all human kind its chattel." — General Eisenhower, August 26, 1952.

"THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S goal was power superiority at all costs. Security was to be sought by denying it to others."—President Eisenhower at press conference, April 16, 1953.

"THE AMERICAN PEOPLE want to be friends with the Soviet people. There are no natural differences between our people or our nations."—President Eisenhower at Geneva, July 18, 1955.

AFTER TALKING to every member of the Russian delegation, he was profoundly convinced that they all desired peace as sincerely as he did. President Eisenhower at Geneva—(*The London Times*, July 21, 1955).

Drug Story by Morris Bealle. Bealle, a Washington, D. C., publicist, once edited the magazine *Plain Talk*. He was a defender of Father Coughlin and a friend of Gerald L. K. Smith. Bealle shared the speaker's platform with Winrod before the Christian Medical Research League, which according to Ralph Lord Roy's book, *Apostles of Discord*, is a "front behind which the cancer quacks do business." The League proclaims that God has produced a new cure which the "Jewish-controlled" American Medical Association is seeking to suppress. Organized by two extreme fundamentalist ministers, the League has attracted to itself many of those Ralph Roy describes as "the ministry of hate."

Perhaps the most extreme examples of this ghoulish preying on people's fears is a recent pamphlet, "Was Senator Taft murdered—The Victim of Medical Bigotry?" Its author, George Deatherage, who bills himself as a "research specialist," was indicted for sedition during World War II. Deatherage argues in his pamphlet, which was published by Smith's Christian National-

ist Crusade, that Taft was deliberately denied the benefit of the cancer cure devised by Koch and Hoxsie. He further asserts that Taft was murdered "by concealed radium capsules" placed on his Senate seat. Wesley Swift, Smith's chief West Coast lieutenant, told a Seattle audience that the culprit was "a certain Jewish Senator from New York."

Wild as these fantasies are, they are not without effect. In the case of fluoridation, countless numbers of Americans have been denied better teeth as a result of panic spread by the myth-makers. The already confusing situation surrounding the Salk vaccine has been further confused. Many suffering from cancer or fearing the dread disease, have been cruelly led to believe that health was denied them by a gigantic plot. Well-meaning people like the health food addicts have been infiltrated by hate-mongers who have made support of "natural" food their own cause. The result has been an almost unprecedented attack on modern science, paralleling the attacks on the United Nations, modern education and reasoned statesmanship.

Egypt-Israel

THE SHAKINESS of Premier Nasser's military government in Egypt is now conceded to be a root cause of the little war with Israel. But Premier Nasser can face no big war, so his role is also a moderating one.

During three years since Egyptians forced their playboy King Farouk to abdicate, the military juntas led by Generals Naguib and Nasser have suffered a series of political humiliations. They promised land reform to the *fellahin*, but made little progress. They promised the welfare state for the city worker, employing much of the verbiage of the Socialist leaders of India and Burma, but showed no capacity for such a program.

Last winter Iraq dealt Egyptian leadership of the Arab bloc a galling setback when the Baghdad-Ankara Pact was signed. This pact with a Western ally challenged the very foundation of the Arab League which Egypt had organized as an independent bloc.

The Sudan proved the next humiliation. For years Egypt had pressed Great Britain to withdraw from the Sudan, on the assumption that the Sudan would choose to form a union with Egypt. But this spring when the British agreed to withdraw, the Sudanese indicated they would prefer independence. Nothing could frighten the Egyptians more, be-

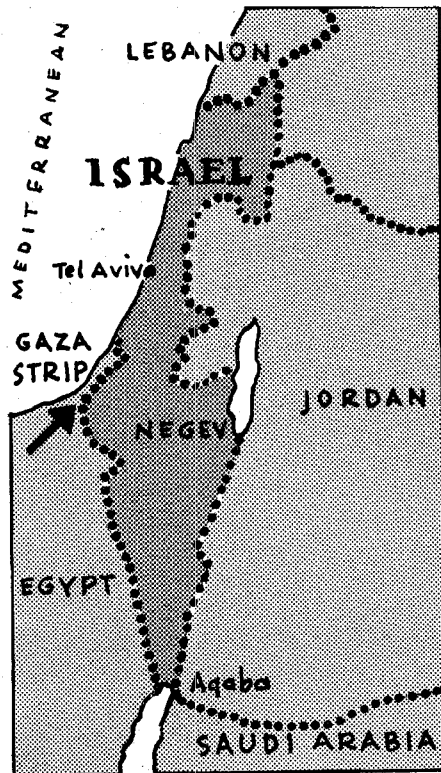
cause an alien nation would then control the Nile waters on which Egyptians depend for their very survival.

These were the setbacks which brought the Nasser Government to its present shaky state. During all these developments, skirmishing along the Egyptian-Israeli border increased or slackened according to the Egyptian need for political distraction. Israelis contributed their share to the skirmishing with their official policy of reprisal. But the fact that Israel's borders with three other Arab countries—Lebanon, Syria and Jordan—remained unusually quiet suggests Egyptian provocation on the fourth front.

This was the background when the UN truce team in Israel, acting on instructions of the UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld, suggested high level talks early this summer to relax tensions on the Egypt-Israel border. Israel accepted, and offered to send the Director-General of its Foreign Office. Egypt was afraid such talks would lead to political recognition, and offered to send only an army colonel. Even so, the talks were productive. Egypt was led into forms of co-operation with Israel which were embarrassing to her leadership in the Arab League.

Israeli officials surmise that at this point Egypt, looking for a pretext to break off the UN talks, decided on an attack. And if the attack could provoke a big enough Israeli reprisal, Egypt might be able to bring charges before the UN General Assembly on September 20 and Egypt would appear as the injured party. Both the attack and the reprisals actually took place less than 30 days before the Assembly opened.

Five days after the attack outside the Gaza Strip, Secretary of State Dulles appeared before the New York City audience of the Foreign Policy Association and made his proposals for an Arab-Israeli settlement. The Dulles speech was apparently a part of the concerted peace drive by the UN Secretary General. When Mr. Hammarskjöld called on Israel and Egypt to accept a cease-fire, Mr. Dulles told his press conference that the American Embassies in the two countries had backed up the UN. When Mr. Dulles made his peace proposals, Mr. Hammarskjöld was ready in his UN office with a strong endorsement of the American suggestions. The teamwork was more than a coincidence.



Atomic Power Plants

WITH Dixon-Yates behind and election year drawing nearer, the Atomic Energy Commission is talking a little tougher to the private power companies. It is talking tougher, too, to the single public power district to apply for an atomic generating station.

This is apparent in the commission's recent rejection of proposals by the Yankee Atomic Generating Company, a holding company representing 90 percent of the generating capacity in New England, and of proposals by the Consumers' Public Power District of Columbus, Nel. Each had sought federal subsidies of about 20 percent to build atom-powered generators, Yankee's a 100,000 kilowatt unit, Consumers' a 75,000 kilowatt unit.

At the same time, the AEC approved plans of a Commonwealth Edison group in Chicago and a Detroit Edison group to build plants with 10 percent subsidies. The AEC, which sat down at once with Yankee and Consumers officials to work out new and acceptable formulas, offered no explanation why a 10 percent subsidy might be acceptable and a 20 percent subsidy not. In fact, it has said nothing officially about the subsidies at all. Last April AEC Chairman Lewis L. Strauss said the four utility groups had agreed to shoulder 80 to 90 percent of the cost of the projects severally. Since then, no one in the AEC has said anything.

Under terms of the revised Atomic Energy Act, the government can offer free use of nuclear fuel, free research and development in AEC laboratories and payments for technical aid and economic data to further development of an atomic electric industry. The act gives priority in installing plants to high-power cost areas like New England and to firms whose projects seem likely to advance scientific knowledge and practice. The Detroit Edison plant, which proposes to use a breeder reactor which would create more fuel than it uses, may qualify on this latter basis alone. The Chicago Edison plant, however, would use simply an advanced model of today's boiling water reactors.

The AEC so far has taken no action on the proposal of the Consolidated Edison Co. of New York to build a 236,000 kilowatt unit near Peekskill, N. Y., the largest station yet proposed. The com-

pany has said it will build this plant largely at its own expense. The government, however, would pay interest charges on the plant's inventory of nuclear fuels, a sum which is of some consequence.

As for priorities to high power-cost regions, New Englanders are reasoning that this priority applies only if applicants from power-costly areas equal or closely approach the financial offers of utilities in other areas.

Ban on Nuclear Arms

DURING the first week of the new UN disarmament talks in New York—more accurately labeled arms limitation talks—the US did not tell the Russians that it is no longer willing to consider a plan for the total elimination of nuclear bombs. Yet this is the new Administration position circumspectly discussed by high American officials before the talks began.

To smoke out the US position, Arkady Sobolev of the Soviet delegation submitted a list of written questions behind closed doors, then walked outside and handed them to reporters. One question read: "Does the West agree to a ban on nuclear weapons after 75 percent of a disarmament program [for conventional weapons] agreed to by all has been carried out?"

A spokesman for the American delegation said the Russian questions would be answered but might take a little time. The Russian put his finger on a question which President Eisenhower has side-stepped in all discussion of his atomic alarm proposals.

The impression grew that if the Soviet Union is to make a major disarmament concession, it would not choose to do so at the present closed subcommittee meetings (only Canada, France, UK, US and USSR are present), but would prefer either the klieg lights of the UN General Assembly meeting opening September 20, or the Foreign Minister's meeting opening October 27. At the latter meeting concessions on disarmament could be used as trading stock on such related questions as German unity, a European security pact, and East-West trade. These questions are beyond the jurisdiction of the present UN subcommittee.

Latest Barometer Reading: Fair and Stormy

President Eisenhower's "friendly but firm" policy toward the Russians has caught on. Each day the newspaper serves up a bewildering selection of stories which seem to say that we still have the Geneva spirit but not too much. Sometimes firm stories bristle at friendly stories on the same page. News out of the Soviet bloc has this same ephemeral quality, like the old German barometer in which Hansel and Gretel skip out of one door of the cottage to signify good weather, and the witch pops out of the other door to signal storms.

The following assortment of news of the past several weeks will illustrate:

MOSCOW—Sen. George W. Malone of Nevada, a leader of the Republican right wing, exchanged toasts with Soviet bigwigs Malenkov and Kaganovich, saying, "You have your system. We have ours. Nobody should try to interfere with the other."

VIENNA—Sen. Allen J. Ellender, (D, La.), no wooly do-gooder, urged greater trade with Russia following a tour of the Soviet Union and three satellite countries. "My trip was a revelation," he said, "different from the impression I had gained from the State Department. I talked to enough people to gather the impression they do not want war. But they are suspicious of us and believe we want war." He favors exchange of more delegations.

WASHINGTON—The Department of Commerce, publications source for most declassified reports of the Atomic Energy Commission, announced a speed-up in the release of research reports to industry. And 961 reports were made available to the public in a single day.

WASHINGTON—Applying tit-for-tat, the State Department ordered the Hungarian Legation in Washington to stop distributing Hungarian information sheets in this country immediately. This was retaliation for the arrest in Budapest of 12 Hungarian employees of the US Legation, and Communist police interference with Legation visitors.

WASHINGTON—Gen. Nathan F. Twining, Air Force Chief of Staff,

said guided missiles and manned aircraft can be combined to create "a formidable instrument of air power." The Air Force is forming a limited number of missile units, which will demonstrate delivery of the bomb part way to its destination by manned aircraft, and the final penetration by electronics control. Gen. Twining did not say whether this is the "major breakthrough" in Air Force research, announced earlier by Assistant Secretary Gardner, for which \$100 million of new funds was requested.

MOSCOW—The controlled Russian press is running more and more news putting the West in a favorable light. Even some of the critical remarks of the American farmers traveling in Russia were reprinted in *Pravda*. Statements of President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles have been reported without distortion.

WASHINGTON—Rep. Omar Burleson (D, Tex.), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on National Security, questions the practicality of an arrangement with Russia for aerial inspection of armaments. James Polk, (D, Ohio), urged President Eisenhower to oppose trips to Russia by Americans planning to teach farming know-how to the Russians. But Senators Milton R. Young (R, N.D.) and Henry Dworshak (R, Idaho) said on leaving for Moscow that they would examine the possibility of opening the United States to "tens of thousands of Russian tourists."

BUSINESSMEN IN GOVERNMENT—III

Our Archaic Laws on Conflict-of-Interest

SIX Federal conflict-of-interest laws have been on the books for a long time, but cases of Government officials being brought up on criminal charges under them are hard to find. The usual fate of a man suspected of feathering his private nest while engaged in the public service is dismissal from his job as gently as possible. The laws themselves are designed to be prophylactic rather than remedial; they are supposed to stop an official from yielding to temptation.



Section 434 of the US Criminal Code provides that a Government employee who has a direct or indirect financial interest in any company may not act as an agent of the United States for transacting business with that company. Now, it is not Secretary of Defense Wilson who directly buys General Motors products for the Army, but a relatively obscure Signal Corps employee who may own five or ten shares of GM. It is not likely that this identification will tempt him to finagle his contracts to the big company's advantage and so jeopardize his small job. When the statute was enacted in 1863, persons of modest income did not as a rule own stock. If the problem arises now, no one ever hears about it because Signal Corps employees are not generally obliged to reveal the extent of their dabblings in the stock market, and no one cares very much. Applied to higher-echelon, policy-making posts, the statute is no more meaningful. No one really assumes that when Secretary Wilson sells his GM stock he sheds all loyalties toward his old corporation. Despite these failings, however, the statute does aim toward assuring an elementary and essential division between a man's private finances and his public responsibilities, and may be effective in certain instances.

Section 281 of the criminal code bars a Government employee from accepting compensation for services rendered before any Government department on any matter in which the United States has an interest. Section 283 says that Federal employees may not act as agents for any claim against the Government. Both

these statutes apply regardless of whether the matter in hand has any connection with the employee's actual job, which is not surprising since they were passed in 1862 when official Washington was a comparatively close-knit community. The purposes of both are simple enough—and similar to the first: to make certain that an individual's fidelity to the United States will not be undermined by his relations with any private group.

A fourth conflict-of-interest statute prohibits an official from receiving any non-government salary paid "in connection with" his Federal job. This provision is difficult to apply, easy to evade, and the first to be modified in time of stress. Even if the present crop of WOC ("without compensation") officials and consultants to the Government were not exempt from all conflict-of-interest statutes—as they are—they would not necessarily be indicted under this one. Their status would depend entirely on the Attorney General.

Applications of this law have been inconsistent, turning on how one construes the phrase "in connection with." A business organization has been permitted to pay the traveling expenses of Department of Commerce employees whom it had requested to address it. On the other hand, when a railroad offered to donate one of its assistant general managers to the Office of Defense Transportation in 1943, the proposition was held to be a violation of this statute.

The test here seems to depend on the intent of the payer. A retirement pension is all right in general; but it is not at all right if given strictly to enable a man to stay in Government work—and, possibly, perform small quiet jobs for the people who are supporting him. The assumption is that so long as an individual is not receiving a certain kind of payment from his old company, he will have no compelling loyalty to it. In time of war, this provision is invariably suspended so that the Government may get the men it wants—thereby implying a lowering of ethical standards. In time of peace, it keeps the Government from getting men who can't afford to give up their private salaries.

The remaining two conflict-of-interest statutes are efforts to prevent former

Federal employees from prosecuting claims against the United States for a set period of time after leaving Government employ. They apply very largely to attorneys going into private practice and in some cases may work real hardships—as where a specialist in operations of the Federal Communications Commission is forbidden to work on FCC cases for two years after leaving Washington.

Two basic concepts seem to underlie all six conflict-of-interest laws: Government employees must always be impartial in their official actions; and, no employee, past or present, is entitled to take any advantage over private persons in the conduct of business with the government by virtue of his position. Although the concepts are unexceptionable, the laws themselves, in addition to their ambiguities, sometimes tend to frighten off men who might be of real service to the country. The President's Commission on Internal Security, appointed in 1951 with Admiral Chester Nimitz as its chairman and bringing together a distinguished assortment of citizens, was disbanded when President Truman's opponents in Congress refused to grant its members special exemption from the conflict-of-interest statutes.

A number of suggestions have been put forward to bring the present laws up to date. Most observers agree that Government employees should not be permitted to transact Government business with any firm in which they have a significant financial interest; nor should they render services to non-Government parties in any matter in which the United States is concerned. This, together with the requirement for a reasonable disclosure of finances, is about as much as such laws can accomplish.

Even if all of this is clearly written into the statute books, however, the problem of businessmen in Government will still be far from solved. For the questions raised by the actions of Mr. Talbott and Mr. Wenzell and this Administration's dependence on men from private corporations are questions of ethics. As one legal writer has pointed out: "The mere existence of a rule will not promote morality; it must be accompanied by a general rule to be moral. . . . Morality in the Government cannot be produced solely by the sanctions of the criminal law."

WALTER GOODMAN

Britain and the Rebellious Greeks of Cyprus

THE HEADLINES in the US press on violence in French North Africa and along Gaza Strip buried news of the British-Greek-Turkish Conference on Cyprus. Behind closed doors in London the three nations have been searching for a way to compromise Cyprus' demand for "self-determination," backed up by Greece, and Britain's insistence, supported by Turkey, that her 77-year rule of the island must continue if she is to remain responsible for military security in the area.

There are many similarities between the Greek Cypriot struggle for union with their Greek homeland and that of the Jewish struggle for a national homeland of their own in Palestine. The Jews, under foreign rule, used their synagogues and their *yeshivas* (schools of learning) to keep alive their language and their ancient traditions, while Zionism nurtured their political ambitions. Although the Greek Cypriots have never been dispersed it is many centuries since they have been able to call their homeland their own. Their churches and schools did for them what the synagogues and *yeshivas* did for the Jews, and *enosis* (the movement for union with Greece) has fulfilled the role of Zionism. Eoka (the patriot army) is the Cyprus counterpart to Haganah.

Just as Zionism fired the imagination (though it did not always engage the faithful support) of many British statesmen, so *enosis* has had its British admirers. Writing a long time ago of the Greek Cypriots' desire to be incorporated in their mother-country Winston Churchill said: "Such a feeling is an example of the patriotic devotion which so nobly characterizes the Greek nation."

But the misfortune of Cyprus has always been that its strategic position in the Eastern Mediterranean has made it valuable to the contemporary dominant power in that part of the world—the Persians, Egyptians, Romans, the Frankish Crusaders, the Venetians, Genoese, the Turks and now the British. Each has justified its conquest of the island by insisting on its strategic value, just as Britain and the United States do today.

The irony of the situation is that the leaders of *enosis* are wholeheartedly in favor of Cyprus being retained as either a British or a NATO base, even after its accession to Greece. And the

Greek Government concurs. But Britain feels that it requires in the Middle East a base that it can call its own. Having retreated from Suez, Palestine, Jordan and Iraq it feels that its power to influence the Middle East will have been considerably diminished if it now has to abandon Cyprus and make its headquarters in Malta or Aden. But what kind of a military base will Cyprus be if the British troops there are to be harassed by a militant nationalist movement as in Palestine or in the Canal Zone?

The Turks are steamed up about Cyprus for reasons of their own. Firstly, they are concerned about the fate of their Turkish minority on the island. Secondly, they are concerned about their own security since Cyprus lies only 40 miles from the Turkish mainland. And thirdly, their dead, but undying, Imperial pride rouses violent passions at the idea that the Greek "hyena," which has already collared so much of the old Ottoman Empire, should acquire yet another of its former possessions.

But even if the British, Greek and Turkish delegations manage to reach some compromise solution on Cyprus they will still be faced with the difficult task of persuading the Greek Cypriot leaders to accept their solution.

The man who exercises more influence in Cyprus than all the delegates collected at the London talks combined is conspicuously absent from the conference. Archbishop Makarios (a former student at Boston University) is, judged by any standards, one of the most impressive figures in Mediterranean politics today.

In the West we are inclined to react almost automatically against any religious leader who is at the same time an active

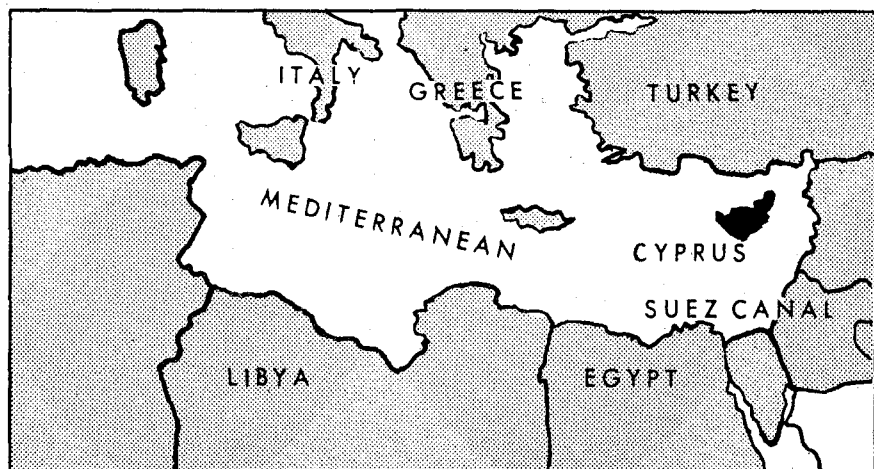
politician. But in the history of Greece and Cyprus it was the Church which kept alive Greek nationalism, especially during the 300 years overlordship of the Ottoman Empire. Nationalism and religion were one and the same thing then, and that tradition has remained in Cyprus. One must see Makarios as being in the tradition of Moses and Aaron—leaders of a religious people—not as Thomas à Becket or Cardinal Wolsey disputing with political leaders for temporal power.

Makarios is in a very real sense a "bishop of the people." He is the only important religious leader who is elected by popular vote. And the vote that elects him as head of the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus also confirms him as the Ethnarch, the leader of the nation.

The Archbishop can count on the loyalty of 70 percent of the Greek Cypriots. The other 30 percent (while supporting *enosis*) are more inclined to follow the Communist leadership. While the Communist Party is officially proscribed in Cyprus, it nevertheless flourishes under the different name of Akel. And because the Communists are so successful in organizing trade unions they are able to wield a considerable influence on the island. Paradoxically the Communists support *enosis*, although its achievement would mean that they would be purged in the same ruthless manner as were their comrades in Greece. For the Greek Government is much less gentle with its Communists than the British colonial power. This paradox is due to the realization by the Cypriot Communists that if they did not support *enosis* they would lose most of their support—so fanatical are the majority of Cypriots in their devotion to union with Greece.

London

COLIN LEGUM



Oil and Politics (North Dakota)—III

The Operators Move In

By Robert Engler

It will be exciting to be in the oil business in North Dakota where such divergent philosophies as the state and the industry have are bound to clash. The oil will finally prevail. There is nothing so soothing of passion as monthly production of royalty checks.

A message from Oklahoma welcoming North Dakota into the oil producing fraternity. *Williston (N.D.) Daily Herald*, April 13, 1951.

IT WAS a few days before the people of North Dakota awoke to the potentialities of the successful oil strike of April 4, 1951, on Clarence Iverson's 1,500-acre farm near Tioga in the North Dakota part of Williston Basin. They had been excited, then disillusioned before.

Geologists have often noted that the historic geologic development of the 120,000 square mile Williston Basin, which includes portions of Canada, Montana and South Dakota, as well as western North Dakota, appears favorable for oil.

In the 'twenties there had been several periods of claimed discoveries and oil hysteria. Perhaps the most dramatic of these centered around the activities of Arthur C. Townley, the founder of the Nonpartisan League, who had promoted exploration on the basis of doodlebug judgment and his own personality. "Loan me your money—but kiss it goodbye"



he said making no guarantee that oil would be found. The speculator in the farmer was stronger than the skeptic and Townley raised sizable sums.

But as the pictures of Clarence Iverson No. 1 and the predictions about Williston's future spread, and the hundreds of brokers, landmen, geologists and other oil representatives crowded the hotels and the strange license plates of Oklahoma and Texas became commonplace, black gold fever rose. "Something new has been added to a great farm state—OIL—This sample of crude direct from North Dakota's famed Williston Basin" proclaimed the label on the miniature bottles distributed by the North Dakota County Agents Association.

The oil companies themselves have been trying to tone

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down expectations to which they earlier contributed so heavily. "We have nothing to sell and we want to dampen these dreams of fortunes," explains the representative of the North Dakota Oil and Gas Association. "There will have to be considerably more evidence . . . before you and I can sit back and rest assured that North Dakota is really an oil state," a major oil company official testified before the state's Industrial Commission in 1952.

But if oil has not been produced freely, exploration and development continues. North Dakota now has some 530 wells and produces about 35,000 barrels of crude a day. Shell Oil Company has more than six million acres under lease in the Basin, Stanolind has four and one half million acres, and the Northern Pacific Railway (thanks to a fantastic land grant from the federal government in 1864), Hunt, Texas, Amerada, Union, Standard (New Jersey), Phillips, Atlantic, and Socony-Vacuum all have substantial holdings. Amerada, the biggest non-integrated producer in the nation, controls most of the wells. It works closely with and is dependent for price upon Standard of Indiana whose subsidiary, Stanolind, is the region's chief purchaser of crude. Another Standard subsidiary controls the gathering lines and the main crude pipelines which service the main refinery (Standard). Standard is also the state's leading marketer. It has been estimated that at least a half billion dollars has been invested in the region thus far and this should reach one billion in a few years.

The oil companies' approaches to North Dakota have varied. To the genuine independent wildcatter this is just another place where oil might be struck. But to the bigger outfits such as Standard of Indiana there has been some concern that the people might create special problems. After all, North Dakota has a radical agrarian tradition. There is still a Nonpartisan League organization, and even if the philosophy is tired or dead, there remain as reminders of the potential wrath of the people the state grain elevator, flour mill and bank. When Townley was the League's guiding spirit he led farmers into the movement and control of the state, reputedly using such class appeals as: "If you put a lawyer, a banker and an industrialist in a barrel and roll it down the hill, there'll always be a son-of-a-bitch on top."

Dependent upon outside markets for selling their raw materials and for buying their finished goods, North Dakotans bear the deep resentment of their colonial

status. They have been taken by the grain trade in Minneapolis and St. Paul as well as by the railroad barons from LaSalle and Wall Streets. Their extensive cooperative groups and the powerful Farmers' Union have all encouraged them in this hostility to outside interests. "We have a big job to do," said one public relations man. "They even have a progressive income tax here and that's socialistic. But a small minority of the people are okay."

A careful statewide propaganda program was developed. Panels of oil speakers, planned in New York by the Oil Industry Information Committee of the American Petroleum Institute—the public relations arm of the industry's major trade organization—visited the schools and colleges under the sponsorship of the Greater North Dakota Association and the Junior Chambers of Commerce to answer questions about oil. Pattern speeches and news releases for use throughout the state were prepared in New York by the OIIC, with blank spaces where the local speaker or publicist could insert the appropriate grass roots references. A superior film based on Clarence Iverson No. 1 was produced on location and shown widely in order to reassure the people as to the intent and behavior of the newcomers. Some county agents helped organize film sessions. All members of the legislature were put on the API's mailing list. Advertisements were placed heralding that "North Dakota Profits from the Oil Industry"—"As Oil Profits So Does North Dakota."

The companies tend to select their best men for this new region. Landmen were instructed as to the importance of kidglove handling of farmers. Lawyers have been cultivated throughout the state by the spreading of legal business. And, of course, the very presence of oil has generated tremendous litigation and the expectation of more. The clergy have been consulted on key problems of community relations, and at least one company has placed them on its mailing list. Great solicitude is shown for the press, and the young men who have been assigned the title of oil editor have been steaked and bourboned and flown by helpful oil representatives.

When a Standard of Indiana subsidiary constructed a pipeline, it was careful to explain to the community exactly what it was doing and how farm property would be respected. Thousands of copies of a well-written pamphlet *Underland Oilway* were distributed to schools, clubs and citizens. The preface, called "That Rain Feeling," read:

You know how you feel when the skies open up and let a couple of inches of good rain come pattering down. It makes you feel good inside—secure, and happy in the knowledge that the rain means the promise of good things to come. That is how you people in North Dakota have made us feel—welcome as rain. We like your warm friendliness and willingness to cooperate, and are happy to be a part of North Dakota.

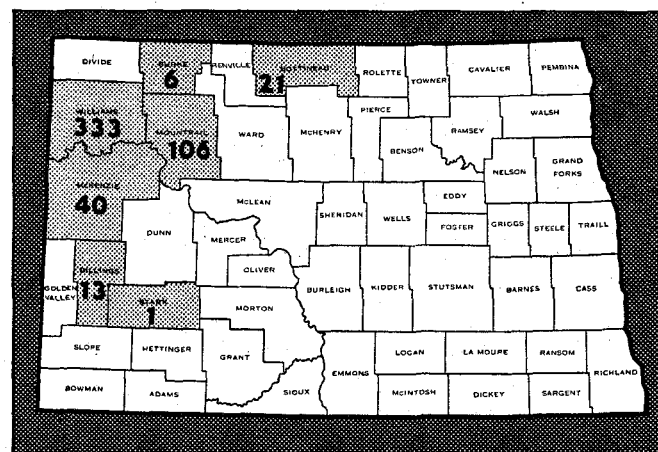
And when Standard felt production warranted a re-

finery, their top field public relations man spent a number of months studying the projected site above the town of Mandan on the west bank of the Missouri in an attempt to predict the community problems that might arise.

Standard, which is the sixth largest manufacturing and the third largest oil company in America, is the industry leader in this region. It maintains an extensive public relations program with a staff of more than forty operating out of Chicago. One major purpose is the development of a public attitude which regards their plants as local institutions rather than branches of farflung corporate empires. Executive employees are encouraged to participate in worthwhile community activities and in booster, service and business clubs as well as in church affairs. Joining in cake sales, bazaars and Christmas festivals by oil wives is looked upon with great favor. In addition to the general good will it promotes, "there is often a chance to talk about the company or oil—and something is bound to rub off."

Asked if such approaches were very successful with stubborn and sometimes suspicious North Dakota farmers, one official admitted they were still difficult at times. But, he added, we have learned throughout the Northwest that it is more rewarding to pitch our energies and money into farm youth groups such as the 4-H clubs and Future Farmers. These kids can clearly be seen as more conservative and more sympathetic to business than their parents or their city counterparts, he continued. In all its employee literature, the company emphasizes the importance of these groups and of Junior Achievement clubs. It also has regular current affairs films for schools and has contributed heavily for scholarships in liberal arts colleges throughout the Midwest. (In one year it gave \$150,000 spread among 14 colleges.) A vice-president has given high school commencement addresses throughout North Dakota.

The white collar oilmen have established local Petroleum Clubs where they meet regularly for lunch and also become better acquainted with other professionals and



North Dakota's oil-producing counties. Figures on the map show number of wells.

businessmen. Their wives have organized the familiar Petroleum Wives Club and news of their social and charitable work appears with growing frequency on local society pages.

All this effort has not been just to win a popularity contest. Oil has a tremendous long-run investment to protect. If the industry fears a critical public attitude and a hostile legislature, they strive unceasingly for friendly legislation and sympathetic administration. On the defensive side oil people recognize that wherever they go they make inviting targets for states hard pressed for new revenue sources.

They did not have long to wait in North Dakota. A legislative research subcommittee appointed to explore oil policy came up with a proposal for a gross production tax of four and one-half percent as part of a package of recommendations. The level of the tax precipitated an angry political battle in the state. Some felt that the tax should be much higher, with proposals ranging up to 12 percent. More admitted uncertainty as to how one determines the ability of a corporation to pay, especially during a developmental period when the industry was pouring into the state much more than it was pumping out. Still others prophesied that if the oil companies felt threatened by taxation they would move elsewhere, especially since it was assumed they were more interested in accumulating reserves than in production. "We want industrial development . . . now," said one witness, reminding the House Finance and Taxation Committee how the state had aided the railroads in an earlier period. "But we need the people and capital and know-how for that development . . . I think our bark is worse than our bite . . . But we have a reputation for discouraging business."

The Governor's attitude had been that any such taxes were "punitive" and "discriminatory." The industry itself had voiced some objection to the concept, but then proposed two to three percent as the maximum. While declaring that the committee's four and one-fourth percent compromise proposal was higher than they would like, a number of oilmen more privately indicated it within reason. Some close observers believe they would have accepted five percent as readily.

Meanwhile, at every Chamber of Commerce meeting, Rotary luncheon and public gathering the familiar theme was reiterated. "Oil will pay taxes, oil wants to pay taxes, it wants to pay its fair share but it doesn't want to be singled out and so overburdened it can't invest. It is up to you folks whether oil remains." Robert E. Wilson, chairman of the Board of Standard of Indiana, in an oil day celebration speech preceded by a free barbecue paid for by his company, and with attacks on government handouts and public bureaucracy as harmful to the fiber of the nation, warned "North Dakota must compete with other states for the oil industry's dollar. Today there is no shortage of good hunting grounds for oil." (In his 1953 stockholders message, he reported "crude oil is be-

coming harder to find.") Vice-president Boone of Amerada repeatedly cautioned the people and their legislature to consider very carefully before they "take any action that would jeopardize what may be the promise for a very glorious future for the state of North Dakota . . . Your problem is to provide the climate where the profit on that (investment) dollar will be equal to what other states offer."

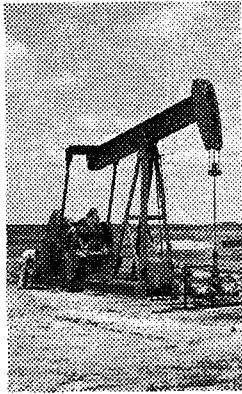
While driving the writer about Williston, the hospitable executive secretary of the Chamber of Commerce voiced much the same fear. His organization lists as an important accomplishment that it has "remained politically alert and tax minded, helping to keep the industry in the state." A few minutes later, as we drove past Amerada's new brick office building he spoke with pride about how the engineers had told him that it was heavily reinforced with steel and so designed that it could be expanded to several times its present height. Across the border in Montana the oil companies hint and threaten they will shift their operations to North Dakota.

Ultimately the four and one-fourth tax was adopted by the North Dakota legislators. The oil industry had done its political homework carefully.

THERE are other factors in explaining the victory. Farmers in the western half of the state where the oil thus far has been found have known depression, debt and foreclosure. McKenzie County, for example, where there has been sizable land speculation and some production, was known in the thirties as the hardest hit depression area in the country. Williams County once had many rural people on relief.

But many farmers have been doing well these last dozen years. They are businessmen with sizable investments in livestock, machinery and land. They have tended to identify at least in part with this new oil business. There are similar elements of mystery and risk when dealing with nature in both occupations. There is also the common bond of land speculation. But there is a kind of romance to oil sorely lacking or obscured in the lives of most rural (and industrial) workers. There is also drama, movement, even envy ("These oilmen are a wife swapping crowd" is echoed in some quarters). Then too there is a whole new language which they enjoy using and being a part of, even if the understanding is not always there. Refineries do not "open"; they "go on stream." The potential economic gains for the state and themselves are also very much in mind. "The more money the oil companies have to invest the sooner they will drill on my fields."

So when in the midst of the controversy a caravan of some 300 descended upon Bismarck parading through the legislative halls urging a low tax, it was not surprising to find that many were farmers from Williams County. Historically a strong Nonpartisan League area and overwhelmingly Farmers Union, the county leads the



How "Depletion" Works

If a factory building costs \$100,000 and is expected to last 50 years, the factory owner is allowed to deduct \$2,000 from his income tax each year for 50 years for depreciation. (After 50 years he has deducted the entire \$100,000 investment.) But for oil well owners there is a special tax law. Every year they can deduct 27.5 percent — of gross income, not capital invested. If a well which cost \$1 million produces \$5 million of oil for ten years, the owner can deduct \$13,750,000 from income taxes, or almost 14 times what he invested.

state in number of wells—and in production. It is noted for its extensive cooperative movement and has been labelled by some as a radical stronghold. "Those people up there want co-ops from womb to tomb," you hear said elsewhere in the state, this is an apparent reference to Williston's unsuccessful experiment with a co-op burial society. This grass roots protest against too high a tax on oil was organized and sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce of Williston, Dickinson and several other towns.

The state Farmers Union took no decisive stand. Proud of its historic role as a people's movement sensitive to agrarian discontent, the organization is generally quite vigorous on such economic issues. Its New Dealish philosophy has been pointed to as proof of its "Red" tendencies by mainstreet critics, and apologized for by some of its own members who find the chief attraction to be the co-op benefits. It is even feared because of its great numerical strength, having about 43,000 of the state's 59,000 farmers in its ranks, as well as because of its sporadic attempts to take over the dormant Democratic party and because of its current advocacy of a graduated land tax. The Farmers Union convention had discussed a severance tax and later the Board of Directors decided to go along with the legislative research committee's recommendations. But the membership was obviously divided, with conflicting grass roots delegations showing up at Bismarck. Last January the Board urged a 2 percent increase.

It is also to be noted that the Farmers Union is heavily involved in the oil business itself and the Farmers Union Central Exchange is an integrated operation possessing sizable investments in wells, refineries, pipelines and marketing outlets.

In the heat of the gross production tax fight there was passed a depletion allowance for 27½ percent of the gross income of a well. There was little serious discussion about the concept, only bickering and maneuvering as to whether the figure should be 25 or 27½ percent. The magic figure of 27½ percent seems to have been taken over intact from federal statutes. One major oil executive has explained that the industry always seeks to

preserve this percentage lest any chipping away destroy some of the mystique surrounding the figure and make a break in the dike for a lower rate of deduction nationally.

As is the picture in most oil states, the big oil companies had one other major desire. They sought, helped frame, and received as part of the 1953 legislative package a revision of what is euphemistically known in the industry as an oil conservation law. The essence of the law provides for the controlled development of oil production, with the State Industrial Commission empowered to set necessary regulations. Publicly, great stress has been placed on the importance of scientific well spacing, the prevention of the dissipation of the vital underground gas pressures needed to bring forth the petroleum, the planning for maximum withdrawal, and the protection of the fields on a long time basis. These are all very real considerations for so valuable a natural resource. And around each of them is wrapped the most sacred of words for the people of the West—conservation.

Much less up for public discussion but no less real in the minds of oilmen is a somewhat different interpretation of the term. This refers to what is known as economic conservation, with the conserving having to do with the investments of producing companies and the prices of their refined oil. The larger producers have preferred to drill on as wide a spacing as possible so as to keep down the number and cost of wells.

This, when accompanied by a system of proportioning whereby the state agency sets monthly allowables for each well based upon what is known as market demand, creates the essence of price control by the industry. Where effective it means a predictable flow of products to known markets with minimum fluctuation of price. To critics who point out that limitation of production does not seem to make sense in a state which is striving to get production going, Wilson Laird the state geologist and main adviser to the Industrial Commission, offers this rejoinder:

The argument that we have to wait to get something to conserve is not very valid because if you wait for that time the invested interest becomes so great that it is impossible to put in adequate conservation measures. This has been the experience in other states and I don't propose that it shall happen in North Dakota if I can help it.

Meanwhile, the entire process bears slight relation to what defenders of capitalism assume to be the functioning of laws of supply and demand. All this takes place with the sanction and even police power of the state government. "The sale, purchase or acquisition, or the transporting, refining, processing, or handling in any other way of oil produced or gas produced in excess thereof is hereby prohibited and such oil and gas is thereafter contraband."

Small independent producers have been unhappy with

these regulations. They seek and generally need a fast return on their investment. This means getting all the oil possible out of the ground as quickly as feasible. And they generally do not have alternative points of production in Texas or abroad to draw upon when market conditions are not favorable in North Dakota. Sharing this feeling are land and royalty owners who are also eager for immediate profits. To them "orderly development" means the use of North Dakota as a giant natural underground storage basin by big oil companies who operate for the long pull and who regard proven reserves as money in the bank.

IN North Dakota, as in other oil states, much of the controversy developed over oil has been variations on the theme of the "independent" versus the "majors," the "small man" versus the "big interests." And the public has been asked to choose sides on this basis. Yet, while this dilemma may be in harmony with a classic presentation of America's presumed choice, the realities of the North Dakota experience suggests a somewhat different problem. Involved is the formulation of a truly public policy for the use and development of a valuable natural resource. It requires as a starting point something else besides a glandular orientation to the virtues of the small businessman or a "realistic" acceptance of what a growing number of liberal academicians priding themselves on their toughmindedness now see as the new competition of bigness.

The concerns of the small landowners and producers have failed to suggest any particular superior virtue either as to their being or their behavior. Their suspicion of "conservation" has been as related to their pocket-books as has been the advocacy of "conservation" by the bigger producers. Where they have been cut in on the fixed market via prorationing and greater discovery allowances, their outrage over such things as wide well spacing has diminished noticeably and little worry is shown over the disappearance of "free enterprise."

Genuine independents could contribute to a more competitive spirit. But the costs of seismographic study, modern production techniques and the nature of so much of the Williston formations make drilling prohibitive for many small producers. Independent wildcat wells are often undertaken with partial major backing, since such dry hole financing also serves as a relatively inexpensive way for a large company to test a new area. Then, too, independent producers, like independent refiners and marketers, often exist by the good graces of the large outfits. Many in North Dakota keep in back of their heads the possibility of selling out—and hence can be expected to be on best behavior. All producers worked together in opposing the higher severance tax and in securing the depletion allowance.

Oil has a reputation for controlling the politics of those states where it has vital interests. This has not

happened in North Dakota, for it is not yet that significant a factor in the economy. But oil has entered successfully to achieve every one of its immediate local objectives, whether economic gain or political defense. Its methods, however, are rarely those liberal critics anticipate. The writer did encounter frequent hints about money and payoffs. Some oil men have offered to provide substantial aid for right-wing Republican candidates, but were advised not to lest the fact of being oil-backed boomerang. Undoubtedly there has been some oil financing of candidates, coming in moderate quantities and more likely from the smaller producers. Indeed, it would be surprising if this were not so. One broker even pointed out the exact room in the Patterson Hotel in Bismarck where a United States Senator was offered "oil money" for his campaign. It is doubtful, however, that such behavior explains the victories of oil discussed earlier. And there has been little evidence to indicate any truly unusual sums spent in political campaigns in North Dakota since 1951.

Oil men are quick to deny they are engaged in "partisan politics." And in a sense they are right. Their techniques are much more bipartisan, seeking to influence all political camps while playing the "grass roots" game to the hilt. They keep in close touch with key leaders and legislators. The North Dakota Oil and Gas Association tried to assign one or more members of their group to be responsible for each legislator. Local Chambers of Commerce selected people who would be influential with the legislators to visit Bismarck for varying periods of time to discuss oil. "We have good relations with the Governor," explained a major oil company representative. "But we don't camp on his doorstep. We work indirectly. It's better that way."

As to be expected, lobbying reports filed with the Secretary of State are not very revealing. A number of obvious representatives of the oil associations, Amerada, the Petroleum Industries Committee, landowner associations and also individual attorneys are listed. Purposes are vaguely defined, clients are not made clear and expenses not shown. In the interest of candor and effective lobbying regulation, those who speak for oil in the state might take a cue from a schoolboy from Cunningham. Registering himself as "interested in fire crackers," he declares that he speaks for "myself and other boys."

Quite naturally the oil industry's first concern is for its own welfare. It is not a devil for thus following the rules of the game. In many respects it is far more aware of social responsibilities than are most American industries. And in North Dakota, where other immediate prospects for industrial development are dim, its investments and efforts have brought many economic benefits. It has also given hope on two basic problems. "Maybe it will keep some of our young folks in the state," speculated a retired farmer touching on a major sore spot. "Our schools are pretty bad and the percentage who never

finish high school is shockingly high," pointed out a PTA leader. "That oil revenue could make a difference." And it does. At a recent auction, for example, the Board of University and School Lands received \$114,319 in bonuses and rentals from oil leases on 34,000 acres of state lands. In a January, 1954, auction it received \$623,341 on 34,000 acres of school lands, with more than half the sum coming from Stanolind.

At the same time, the role of the federal government's generous depletion and depreciation allowances should not be overlooked. Amerada, an aggressive company combining science, daring and luck, has been called a businessman's tax dream by *Fortune* magazine because of the negligible taxes it has paid. Standard's \$25 million refinery has a "necessity" certificate which means that 57 percent of its cost will be written off in five years in the interest of national defense; its pipeline was given a 25 percent writeoff. Signal's \$10 million gas plant at Tioga was given 57 percent under this program.

All the illustrations of pressure tactics, public relations and politicking are incomplete without realization of the tremendous popular receptivity to the private demands of oil. ("... 168,219 North Dakota voters went to the pools in the June 29 primary..." reported a 1954 Oil and Gas Association newsletter with a revealing one-letter typographical error.) Top oil executives are lionized socially. Any visit into the state is greeted in a manner reminiscent of James Bryce's description of the homage accorded the railroad kings in another period of American history. Receptions are held to which are invited all the power forces and opinion makers. Already a sizable mythology has grown up about Amerada's President Alfred Jacobsen, his name, appearance and ability to speak Danish all real assets. "He is so common, he is like one of us." "He doesn't even own a car"—this from a banker's wife. "He always buys everyone in the tavern a drink when he comes to town"—this matched by: "He is a fine man, he never touches a drop." Not long ago Jacobsen received an honorary degree from the state university. When an oilman comments favorably upon the conduct of a public hearing at which his company has been a supplicant, portions of the press blush with pride for the state. Perhaps the best summation of this whole attitude is in the advertisement for oil discovery day in Williston which announced a banquet "honoring oil dignitaries and state officials."

There have been few individuals and no groups whose primary focus has been the formulation of a long-range public policy for regulating the conservation, production, distribution and marketing of oil.

"We just don't speak their language" a thoughtful Minot publisher explained in the course of defending the business community's tagging along with the oil industry. He was referring to the technical jargon. Yet the people of the state at one time did not understand the technical language of grain grading and of railroad



freight rates. But they learned. In a more fundamental sense, however, he was right. Predominantly rural and main street North Dakota tends to view oil with the philosophy of small business. This perspective provides as little help in understanding the giant business of oil which is essentially national (and international) as does the county assessor's experience in evaluating farm property prepare him for determining the worth of a refinery. Failing to recognize this, they fail to recognize the need for a state policy. And because they do not attempt the latter, they are spared from learning that not even a state-wide policy will be adequate, that the nature of oil requires national policy, that right now there is one, but it is private.

In the Oil Industry Information Committee's film *American Frontier*, the principal figure, a skeptical school teacher-farmer, concludes, to the accompaniment of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra: "I finally understood that oil would enrich the lives of hundreds of my neighbors. I finally knew for sure that oil was good for all of us."

Against the silence of the prairie a retired farmer, whose car had broken down on the main east-west highway cutting across the oil fields, seemed less certain. We were discussing the changes in the state during his lifetime. In the background an oil derrick glistened in the midday sun. Near us on the edge of a pasture, a sign advised, not too helpfully for the immediate problems at hand, "REPENT OR PERISH." "Do I think that the oil companies will soon dominate North Dakota? I just don't know," he mused as he tested the fan belt. "We used to talk a lot about such problems in the twenties, but now..." His voice trailed off. The white faced Herefords nearby continued to graze without looking up.

(A fourth article in this series appears next week.)

BOOKS & COMMENT

Irascibility in Love with Love

by Cashenden Cass

A LONG silence is hard to break. The greater the silence the harder it gets. And Aldous Huxley's long silence felt like a great one. This time no Grey Eminence emerges, and it may be with a feeling of disappointment that one reaches the last sentence of Mr. Huxley's new book. For me the disappointment had been growing throughout this short moral story, lifting here

The Genius and the Goddess, by Aldous Huxley (Harper, \$2.75)

and there at some recognition of the author's fine vision; but at the end, the disappointment increased as the author closed with a comment on Christian society that would go down better at one of those religious meetings held in football stadiums where crowds stand to convert their own goal. But this is a failure that calls for preferential treatment. The reader, stranded among the debris of the contemporary novel's self-consciousness, is likely to have put more upon a new book by this writer than mere expectations. On it, he may well have pinned his faith; and however much of a let down there may be, the faith is still justified. For Mr. Huxley is not one to enjoy the cream of a religious conversion under the pretext of a penitential dose of sour milk. For him it is yogurt without sugar, the real thing, and good for you. Nor does he lobby away at some doctrinal issue to boost a literary reputation. His is the work of a wonderfully intelligent mind at fair odds with itself, a spectacle worth attention.

Here the spectacle has been stripped of its trimmings, the extraneous litter of novel writing ignored. Unfortunately with this economic presentation of his novel Mr. Huxley has left out more than he has put in. He is determined to show only essentials and the main essential is the belief in one roughly defined theology, or what for want of a better word I will call God, and its adjunct, the at least theoretical possibility of

man's achieving this. An extraordinary primitive statement when one remembers, as one *does*, the novels of the young Mr. Huxley, and a transition almost remarkable enough in itself to confirm the precept by his own example. In fact the author's own history would do more to soften one up to his persuasion than this rather skimpy novel which tends to default his very good faith. There is little in Mr. Huxley's words here to restore our optimism, for although he is firm on a love of God he floors this by an inability to love man, and one is no good without the other.

He gives us a scientist-genius villain, a goddess wife, and a young scientist substitute-hero. Plots do not worry me much, provided the novelist can render them unimportant by the fascination of his creatures and their interplay. But this is as typed a trio as ever came out of a far, far worse best-selling novel than it should be possible for Mr. Huxley to write.

The scientist, whose genius does not excuse his selfish, emotionally childish behavior, is nothing without his wife, who is nothing unless her healthy instincts are regularly fed, but who most of the time is one of those "magnificent" big blond women forever maternally wise. The young scientist, a prig who knows it and hates it, is mother-ridden, guilt-ridden, when he goes to join the household of the genius and his family. At first the young man is in love with the entire charade, which also includes a young daughter who writes poetry on the living room floor, an old retainer, and a son who just plays with trains. Then as he catches up on his belated development he sees things more clearly, still with liking and respect and illusion, but it is now only the wife whom he irreproachably loves. Crisis hits the group when the king-pin wife goes to nurse her mother. Genius collapses into a hysterical sex-obsessed shrunken body of a man who forces the

still priggish young man to look his love and life more than in the face. The harmless girl suddenly pops up as an inconvenient young woman with a dangerous crush. The wife returns exhausted, from her mother's death, to save her husband from his self-willed death bed but this she can only achieve by indulging in a revitalizing bed of sin provided by the shocked young scientist. The daughter, jealous and with new hate in her soul, causes trouble just when the adults are trying to sort things out, and does indeed cause her mother and herself to be promptly eliminated. The author, appearing to be quite out of patience with his characters even in this short time of their being, dismisses the genius as a gibbering old bit of folly, kills off the son in Korea, and finds the good scientist a suitable wife in the fresher air of the Lebanon. Thus none of the problems are truly resolved, and by not resolving them, or by dispersing them by these connivances, Mr. Huxley protests that he is bettering fiction with reality. His reality is as naïve as the fiction he is displacing, and coming from such a well-read and well-written man this naïveté rather leaves one wordless. How can we be surprised by the revelation that a genius may in many ways be despicable? We may be considerably more surprised that a mature confident woman could suddenly become so unnerved by her child's nagging as to drive smash into a lorry.

THE curious thing in this novel is the hatred the scientist-genius is supposed to provoke and does provoke in the author. This is the only character who smudges his copy with a little common humanity, an attribute for which in this novel there is no regard. It is only the children in the story who are treated with care, and here the prose, which too often favors an ironic use of psychiatric aphorisms, breaks away from an imposed detachment—the authenticity of which is added to by the young man telling the story as an old man—and is all the better for the sympathy let slip by the author.

There is a brilliant entry made in the style of *Point Counter Point* and held for a few moments of scorching effect, by a youngish married couple, and when one sees how easily he can enchant us with his disenchantment it is perhaps no wonder that a novelist of this ability should tire of that game. The conver-

sational telling of the story throws out a generous array of ideas and propositions. If they fall not to be picked up there is never a moment's doubt that the man knows what he is talking about and could well take them up if he chose. As it is, he prefers a direct reference to the correct authorities, and one judgment on this book could be praise of its high standard of intellectual references but although these are always acknowledged, not stolen, they leave a sensation of the reader having been somewhere cheated.

It is the book of a man who puts a good question, who believes that the answer cannot be adequately phrased, but

that the answer is with us, although most of us spoil it with our crude imperfections. It is "... a situation with which only a thoroughgoing Christian or Buddhist could adequately deal," as the storyteller remarks about the state of affairs in the book. This goes for our affairs too, and Mr. Huxley is angry that we are not all top level Christians or Buddhists; but he also knows that anger is not what he really should feel, nor can he keep it up for long, or this book would have run into many more pages. There's nothing that fails like trying again but, angry or not, it's good to be reminded that there is an Aldous Huxley around the place.

does not by any means espouse the position of either Nietzsche or Kierkegaard. He does not even make a clear choice between them, though he calls attention to the fact that the one finds "nothingness" or meaninglessness in the mystery beyond rational coherences, while the other finds God. Jaspers is, in short, an honest and non-polemical philosopher who is trying to assess the philosophical situation in the light of the Nietzschean and Kierkegaardian revolt against rationalism.

In regard to the seeming contradiction between the two, Jaspers declares that if one takes the symbols of Nietzsche's religion seriously there seems no transcendent meaning beyond the recurring cycles of history. But he sees the yearning for meaning in the "will to power" which "wills deep, deep eternity." In regard to Kierkegaard he makes the shrewd observation that he "revivified the profound formulas of theology" in a way that seemed "like the peculiar art of perhaps a non-believer who is forcing himself to believe."

Both philosophers have made us aware that "Being itself is that which shows an immeasurable number of appearances to inquiry, but it, itself, always recedes and manifests indirectly as that determinate empirical existence which we encounter in our experiences and in the regularity of processes in all their particularity. We call it the world." "Just as little can Being in itself be derived from any being which we know," declares Jaspers. "There always arises in the thinking man that which passes beyond anything which he thinks." Yet Jaspers is not an "irrationalist." He is concerned to analyze the possibilities as well as the limits of reason. "With the rational attitude," he writes

... I desire unlimited clarity; I try to know scientifically and to know empirically the real and compelling validities of the thinkable. But at the same time I live with an awareness of the limits of scientific penetrability and of clarity in general.

Inevitably such a circumspect attitude toward the possibilities of rational clarity confronts Jaspers with the problem of historical knowledge and the communicability which makes for community. His attitudes toward these problems of history and community distinguishes him from the "pure" existentialists, who live in loneliness and speculate upon the re-

Reason and Religious Ultimates

by Reinhold Niebuhr

KARL JASPERS is generally known as an "existentialist" philosopher.

In this country he is vaguely related to Kierkegaard on the one hand and to Heidegger on the other hand. Both Jaspers and Heidegger are supposed to be philosophical exponents of the Kierkegaardian view point. As a matter of fact Jaspers is obviously influenced by existentialist thought but in this book, as in his *Perennial Scope of Philosophy* he proves himself to be much

Reason and Existenz, by Karl Jaspers
(Noonday; \$3.50).

more than protagonist of a certain school of philosophy. He asserts that true philosophy should be non-polemical; and he practices what he preaches. This new volume is a very profound and searching inquiry into the possibilities and limits of reason in penetrating to the meaning of human existence. One hopes that it will have a creative influence on our whole culture and do much to resolve the conflict between the alleged "irrationalists" and "rationalists."

Jaspers begins with the revolt of Nietzsche and Kierkegaard against German idealism, particularly Hegelianism. This revolt was in his opinion inevitable for German idealism made the heroic effort to comprehend Being itself in terms of reason. But there is a mystery of existence in the self and in

the "encompassing" world which is opaque to reason and resists the efforts of rational comprehension, whether by the philosophy of idealism or by empirical rationality which traces the various causal sequences of the natural world.

Jaspers in his first chapter analyzes the similarities as well as the differences, in the two forms of rebellion against the idealistic rationalism, initiated by Kierkegaard on the one hand and Nietzsche on the other. The former conducted his revolt in the name of a God revealed in the Christian revelation. The other believed that "God is dead" and placed the center of meaning, not in the divine mystery, transcending the rational coherences of the world, but in the self-consciousness of the superman. "The contemporary philosophical situation," declared Jaspers

... is determined by the fact that the two philosophers Kierkegaard and Nietzsche, who did not count in their time and for a long time remained without influence in the history of Western philosophy, have continually grown in significance. Philosophers after Hegel have increasingly turned to face them, and they stand today unquestioned as the authentically great thinkers of their age.

Jaspers sets himself the task of defining the philosophical quest for the truth in the light of the limits of reason in plumbing the mystery of "Being," suggested by these two thinkers. He

lation of the existing individual with the ultimate. Jaspers on the other hand knows that both community and historical meanings are established by rational processes of communication which are grounded in historical and finite perspectives. They are therefore not ultimately valid. But he refuses to dispense with their meanings under the influence of a rational empiricism which annuls the historic dimension of the self in order to deal with it after the canons of the natural sciences; or of an idealistic rationalism which swallows the rich historical meanings in an absolute, which is bereft of fragmentary tangents of meaning in man's historic existence.

Naturally such an analysis of the possibilities and the limits of reason ultimately confronts the philosopher with the problem of the validity of the religious visions of ultimate meaning which seek to penetrate the mystery of transcendence. On this problem Jaspers remains the philosopher, who is naturally and legitimately afraid of the dogmatic perils of religious visions of the ultimate which are themselves historically conditioned. Since this danger is real, Jaspers' attitude of circumspection is justified. He pleads for "openness" in the encounter between various religious penetrations of the final mystery and meaning of existence.

The question which one would have to

raise about such an attitude of tolerance is whether it does not breed indifference toward the truth on the ultimate issues. Is it not possible for instance to make a rational appraisal of the comparative truth value of religious faiths which either annul historical meaning in the emphasis of the mystery of the realm of transcendence, or which take inadequate precautions of the fanaticism or the utopianism which is the consequence of lifting historical values and proximate ends of life into the position of the ultimate?

These are very perplexing questions about which one cannot be indifferent; and one cannot solve them merely by renouncing the religious search for ultimate meaning on the ground that this search is fraught with the peril of fanaticism. On Jaspers' own ground, he has proved that a too rigorous application of the rational disciplines always endangers the appreciation of the depth of selfhood on the one hand, and the meaning of history on the other hand. But whatever criticism might be made against this profound book from this perspective must not obscure the appreciation which every thoughtful reader must feel toward a philosopher who has lifted the controversy between "rationalism" and "existentialism" on a new and more creative level. This book will make history.

exercise of this power by a property-minded judiciary and, conventionally, the heroes of this narrative are liberals like Harlan, Holmes, Brandeis, and Stone who urged their colleagues to exercise judicial self-restraint. When it comes to his prescription for the present Court, however, Chapter Nine finds Rodell urging the justices to exercise the same power and techniques as the Marshalls and McReynolds, only now to enforce a check-list of Rodellian Political Precepts. This may represent consistency, of course, since the Court is explained as "politics," but it should be pointed out to Rodell that this viewpoint deprives him of any claim to the tradition of Harlan, Holmes, Brandeis, et al., who were the Founding Fathers of what Professor Rodell regards as "the nice-Nelly notion of 'judicial self-restraint,' that contemporary scholars hold in such high esteem. . . ."

The second thesis of *Nine Men* is that "judges are human," and that their opinions should be analyzed in those terms. Few contemporary students of Constitutional history would quarrel with that proposition, but they would probably wince at the way in which it is applied, since Mr. Rodell dismisses as fantasy the existence of any special factors in the judicial process which mould and moderate the personal predilections of the individual justices. Consider, for example, his chapter on the post-New-Deal Court. Here, the justices emerge in colorful vignettes which have all the flavor of the Hollywood Western. There are bad hombres slinking around the Court's chambers, renegades from liberalism like Felix Frankfurter and Robert Jackson, who have been corrupted by prissy scholarship and trotting horses respectively. Arguments in these men's mouths are like protests from the rustlers. Pitted against these forces are the straight-shooting Hugo Black and William Douglas. These are "ex-poor-boys" whose courageous "see-things-straight" qualities and defense of "living legal liberalism" set them a world apart from their weak and willful colleagues. The result is to portray Justices Black and Douglas in such a white-on-white fashion that even those who, like this reviewer, have a deep admiration for these men and many of their doctrines, will hardly be able to recognize the rich complexities of the two judges.

In short, this is a book written by a

Sheep and Goats among the Justices

by Alan F. Westin

NINE MEN, subtitled "A Political History of the Supreme Court from 1790 to 1955" is certain to be one of the most controversial books of the year. Pledging himself to "cut through all the falderol of ceremony and sancti-

Nine Men, by Fred Rodell (Random House; \$5).

mony" relating to the Supreme Court, and to write "so that any halfway literate non-lawyer can understand it," Mr. Rodell makes two basic points in his volume.

The first is that the Supreme Court is not an impartial tribunal expounding an eternal Constitution but rather a po-

litical agency handing down political decisions. If this were the beginning of Mr. Rodell's analysis, it would be accurate and, indeed, in line with much of present literature on the Court. As it happens, this is the point at which Rodell insists, vehemently, that he has fully explained the Supreme Court, and he resists any notion that there are proper standards for judicial review which are and should be applied for their own sake.

Mr. Rodell's first thesis leads him to an interesting conclusion. In his first chapter, the Supreme Court is portrayed, ominously, as an "irresponsible," "arrogant," and "autocratic" power in American society. This is followed by a documentation of the evils caused by the

man who is angry at balanced and shaded judgments, and has overstated his case for combative purposes. This in itself would hardly be objectionable, were it not for the fact that the author seems to feel that he has cornered the market

in intellectual honesty, entitling him to direct gratuitous insults at all those who do not share his premises. More's the pity, since there is much of value in this book which deserves a better audience than it will now receive.

The Spirit and the Flesh

by Anne Fremantle

THE newly published code of conduct for American fighting men stresses individual responsibility even under duress. Article VI insists: "I will never forget that I am . . . responsible for my actions." This uncompromising faith in the freedom of the human will was stated more explicitly, perhaps,

The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard,
by Etienne Gilson (Sheed and Ward;
\$3.50).

than at any other time by St. Bernard of Clairvaux.

Most people get their St. Bernards all wrong, confusing Bernard of Clairvaux, with the dog-training philanthropist Savoyard, Bernard of Menthon. Bernard of Clairvaux, of noble birth, and well educated, was 22 when he rode up to the gate of the newly reformed, very austere abbey of Citeaux on October 22, 1112, with four of his brothers and 25 of his friends, and asked admittance. St. Stephen Harding, the English abbot, was about to shut up shop for lack of monks when Bernard and his troops saved the day. Bernard, who himself became an abbot at 28; who founded 70 new monasteries personally; who organized a Crusade; who brought about the condemnation of Abelard for heresy; who made and unmade Popes, and practically ran Christendom single-handed for some years, has often been pictured as an egghead so resentful of earthly beauty that he shielded his eyes from the loveliness of the Alps lest they distract him from his meditation.

How different in reality this passionate lover of all creation was, is admirably shown by Dr. Gilson in this study. Bernard was indeed, almost "Wordsworthian" (though never the least pantheist) in his love for nature.

And, for St. Bernard, the flesh is

always the "good and faithful companion of the spirit." And he is gentle with his monks. "Ought I not rather stop," he asks them. . .

for I see you are drowsy? Some of you I see are yawning, others are falling asleep. And no wonder, because of the long nocturns of last night, and indeed they were very long, and are your excuse.

This great mystic, who convinced men as different as Martin Luther (for whom Bernard was worth all the Fathers put together) and Henry Osborn Taylor, believed that the natural was the normal, and that the only reason for loving God is simply "God Himself; and the measure in which He is to be loved is without measure." But what is God? Bernard replies: "To the universe, its end; to the elect, their salvation; what He is in Himself, He Himself knows."

But why should we bother about Him anyway? Because we are made in his image, and it is our nature to love Him,

as He loves Himself. What is His image? His image is "natural liberty, inherent in the very essence of volition." As St. Bernard says, "freedom from necessity belongs to all reasonable creatures, whether good or bad, equally and indifferently with God. Nor is this freedom lost or diminished either by sin or by misery, nor is it greater in the righteous than in the unrighteous." Our freedom is "coessential with our will," and when a man can no longer will, he is no longer a man, but is an animal or a vegetable. The environmentalism of Lysenko, the determinism of Pavlov, the claims of the geneticists, of the psychiatrists, the Nazi tortures or Communist brain-washings are powerless: you can destroy both a man and his will, but you cannot separate them.

But though we cannot be incapable of willing, we can become incapable of willing the good. So, though we are free from necessity, we are not free from sin nor misery. Man's will has two movements: one that straightens him to the fullest use of his freedom, and one that twists and distorts him. These movements are the *common*, and the *proper*, to use St. Bernard's names for them. And, as Dr. Gilson explains, the *common* will is simply charity, and it is called *common*, because "the chief characteristic of charity lies in an eagerness to share with others the good things it enjoys." On the contrary the *proper* will is "a decision to will nothing save for ourselves and for our sake." And then curvature ensues, from this "twist-

Elegy

SHOULD every creature be as I have been,
There would be reason for essential sin;
I have myself an inner weight of woe
That God himself can scarcely bear.

Each wills his death: I am convinced of that;
You were too lonely for another fate;
I have myself an inner weight of woe
That Christ, securely bound, could bear.

Thus I; and should these reasons fly apart,
I know myself, my seasons, and I KNOW:
I have myself one crumbling skin to show;
God could believe: I am here to fear.

What you survived I shall believe: the Heat,
Scars, Tempests, Floods, the Motion of Man's Fate;
I have one heart, and fear its weight of woe
That God that God leans down his heart to hear.

THEODORE ROETHKE

ing back upon self of a charity which has degenerated into cupidity." And St. Bernard thunders at the twisted creature man has made of himself:

Is it not shameful to lift up thy head,
thou who dost not lift up thy heart?
Remember thy nobility, and take shame
of such a defection.

How, then, can man escape the bias, the curvature he has brought on himself? Love begins, necessarily, by being carnal—the soul cannot help but love the body, for its own sake, before all else: this is the first love. But our freedom only exists because we are made in God's image, so the love of God is first in right.

St. Bernard insists that the way back to the *common* will is by recognizing that "nature made all men equal." And since all men's needs are the same, they would have remained equal, but for the *proper* will, for it is cupidity that has

"tempted the greater part (of mankind) to rush in pursuit of a much greater share of this world's goods than they can consume." Men have "become impatient of this equality, and try to raise themselves above others, vieing with each other as to who shall be the greater." Only by renouncing our *proper* will "whereby cupidity renounces its superfluities so that others may not want for necessities" is the "divinely willed order of things restored . . . for we cannot love our neighbor as ourselves without abandoning superfluities and re-entering the limits prescribed by natural necessity."

Dr. Gilson knows more about medieval philosophy in general, and about St. Bernard in particular, than anyone alive today—perhaps than anyone ever alive. And it is most nourishing to be fed St. Bernard's whole loaf, complete and entire, after many hundred years of curious crumbs.

toward the texture of mystery as toward the setting right of emotion. Reason is never broken by theology, never destroyed by any metaphysical commotion. But it is just this control, this, in his own words, "hand-made, individual craftsmanship quality" and "accuracy of statement" and "spiritual restlessness" that tends to turn some of the lyrics into oddities. Oddity for the sake of wit means loss of the lyric.

Graves' world lacks God, but not the attributes of God: gentleness and force, being and un-being, images and mirrors, timelessness and time. In "The Worms of History" the confusion between the world and God, between the forces of creation and the forces of decay are pitted against the other in the mind of Adam:

God died, not excellence his name:
Excellence lived, but only was not
God.
It was those lesser powers who played
at God,
Bloated with Adam's deferential sighs
In mourning for expired divinity;
They reigned as royal monsters upon
earth.

The Virtuosity of Robert Graves

by Ned O'Gorman

POETRY must tend toward the texture of mystery, grasp it and receive its substance into the order of language. A poem is never unreasonable, nor unclear; a poem reorganizes the various world into a new variety where

Collected Poems, 1955, by Robert Graves
(Doubleday; \$4.50).

the infinite is never lost and where the finite is cherished and never discarded. Graves has gone deep into life, into its humor and darkness, into the ways of the world.

Graves' great themes, myth, love and the self are reduced to the elemental lyric shape, where everything is sure and to the mark, where "experience is compressed into the most economical and lucid form." Because he is close to nature, all his poetry is near the human reality, near that moment we imagine we know when we are awake and fully aware:

Thought has a sea to gaze, not
voyage on;
And hills, to rough the edge of the
bland sky,

Not to be climbed in search of blander
prospect;
Few birds, sufficient for such cater-
pillars
Are not fated to turn butterflies;

The self recalls the world, the world recalls the self, and in this double image is the secret of Graves' most perfect lyrics. Whatever reality is, one thing is certain, it has something to do with men and women, walking and asleep, in the twilight of their ordinary day and in the darkness of night and dreams. The mystery of things that are never as they seem but are always more because of it; the meaning of a world where

Nice contradiction between fact and
fact
Will make the whole read human and
exact

gives Graves endless subjects within the limit of a world entirely sub-lunar and not a little cruel, where

Far away is close at hand,
Close joined is far away,
Love shall come at your command
Yet will not stay.

Graves' poetry tends not so much

It is easy to think Graves' poetry flat-footed, ascending to the heights only when he writes with "abandon" in pieces like "Darien" and "Front Door Soliloquy." But poetry is not all "heights" nor is it all abandon. Graves' is the middle course where the poet writes humanly of human things, to whom myth is closer than any divinity and wit and trivia more real than any dogma. Graves' allegiance is to the Word:

In the beginning, then, the Word
alone,
But now the various tongue-tied
Lexicon
In perfect impotence the day nearing
When every ear shall lose its sense of
hearing
And every mind by knowledge be
close-shuttered—
But two or three, that hear the Word
uttered.

Greatness in a poet is a matter of accepting the silence of some worlds, real as they may be; of accepting the inaccessible as inaccessible. Robert Graves' poetry stands high, not because it is "great" poetry, but because it is adequate and true to everything Graves knows, which is considerable.

History: Entertaining and Informative

by Gerald W. Johnson

AN EXULTANT publisher proclaims that the printing order for the fifth number of *American Heritage* was 107,000 copies. Even allowing for a generous distribution of review copies and stockroom inventory, this is impressive; it more than suggests that a novel and interesting publishing venture has reached or is very close to solid financial footing.

In any event, regardless of finances, the popularity of the publication demon-

American Heritage, A Magazine of History, Number Five, edited by Bruce Catton (American Heritage Publishing Co. \$2.95 the copy, \$12 a year).

strates that Allan Nevins has been right these many years in reiterating that the reading of history is not necessarily an ordeal and is made so only by lack of care to make it entertaining as well as informative. No one can accuse *American Heritage* of falling into that error. The labor expended upon attractive presentation of its material is prodigious, and the effect justifies the effort. Good letter-press, excellent design and lavish use of illustrations, including first-rate color plates, make a production that delights the eye.

If the brilliance of the writing always matched that of the typography, this publication would stand in a class of its own. Sometimes it does. When, for instance, Cleveland Amory writes on social clubs or, as in the current number, Bernard A. Weisberger deals with Moody and Sankey, the evangelists, all the decoration falls into a subsidiary place. But the mournful truth is that in many cases it is needed to give a boost to definitely pedestrian prose.

In fact, the outstanding success of the magazine to date has been in its pictorial record of certain kinds of history that cannot be presented otherwise. It has rescued from oblivion much American painting that is worth the rescue. The current number presents an article on patriotic tableware made abroad for the young republic; but without the beautiful color plates, the article would have lost more than half of its effect.

In this number also twelve pages from the orderly book of Howe, the British general, are presented in facsimile, including the general's three-line reference to the execution of Nathan Hale. This could have been printed in ordinary type, but there is an immediacy about the script that plain type could never achieve.

It is the constant endeavor of the editors to pick up the neglected incident that throws fresh light on some great event, and in this they have been notably successful. The occupational risk assumed is that of choosing an incident that deserves neglect on account of its triviality, but it may be said that in general they have avoided this risk successfully. A modern doctor's careful analysis of the medical record to determine what killed George Washington might have been wasted effort had he been examining the death of Millard Fillmore; but the incidental information that even in 1775 Washington was an ailing man who would probably have been classified 4-F by a modern army surgeon, increases one's respect for the magnitude of his achievement.

It is not to be expected that *American Heritage* will bring about a revolution in historiography. It is not its purpose to do anything of the kind. Its reason for being is simply to make an assault upon the widely accepted myth that history, if true, is deadly dull, and it is doing that effectively. If it is incidentally building up a new group of readers for historians who can write, so much the better; and if it arouses among the laity a hearty contempt for historians who can't write and will not take the trouble to learn, why, so very much the better.

Important Reprints

Abinger Harvest, by E. M. Forster (Meridian; \$1.25).

THE beauty so omnipresent in this book is nowhere a construction, never piled clause and clause high and higher into a tower of eloquent passion as in Ruskin; nor ever, as in Pater, grown under glass and reconsidered sedately. . . .

Next Week

The Novels of Samuel Beckett
an essay on the controversial
Franco-Irish novelist

by Vivian Mercier

Mr. Forster rings little bells of change, not from word to word, but from perception to perception. If we listen closely, we may catch the message in the melody. It invites us to take another look, to see almost at a single moment several facets of a respected virtue, of a stock concept. Only a suggestion; yes, but how disturbing. And hard to act on, whether our minds are old and stiff with habit, or young and stiff with doctrine.

PHILIP LITTELL
July 8, 1936

Rousseau and Romanticism, by Irving Babbitt (Meridian; \$1.35).

WHEN Professor Babbitt in his introduction takes a random shot at our "smart young radicals," we soon discover that from the entrenched stronghold of the Classics and Christianity, his guns are trained not only on Rousseau and Romanticism, but on all our civilization that lies this side of them. The bombardment covers the whole "incomparable series of false prophets from Rousseau himself down to Nietzsche and Tolstoi." Nothing modern is safe from his attack, whether it is the "maniacs of expression" in art—cubists, futurists and post-impressionists—or the corresponding schools in literature. . . . Our philosophers fare no better. Bergson is spoken of as merely one of the "recent votaries of the God Whirl." Professor John Dewey and his followers are said to be "suffering from an advanced stage of naturalistic intoxication." . . . In a word, "modern philosophy is bankrupt" and "the total tendency of the Occident at present is away from rather than toward civilization." We may not agree with this indictment against a whole age, but we cannot ignore its importance.

H. W. L. DANA
November 26, 1919

The above books, long recognized as modern classics, are now available in handsome paper-bound editions. These are excerpts from original NR reviews.

TELEVISION

DURING DEPRESSION and war years CBS was the network which enjoyed a unique reputation for being lively, liberal and innovating, but around 1947 the CBS elite wearied of a prestige which forever withheld the final laurels. Then began a series of pirate raids upon NBC stars. With capital gains bait and other come-ons, CBS stole Jack Benny, Edgar Bergen, Bing Crosby, Eddie Cantor, Burns and Allen, Amos 'n' Andy and other pillars of the NBC popularity temple. The resultant sag in standing and morale at NBC and the concurrent redistribution of top ratings conferred upon CBS, for the first time, the happy status of being "number one network". This, of course, was at the summit of radio's importance as a medium, just before television blew up like a hurricane.

With television CBS has certainly continued extremely prosperous and has held its full share of popular programs. But little by little the word spread in advertising, theatrical and journalistic circles that the real leadership in television programming was being exercised by NBC under the derring-do of a president, Sylvester (Pat) Weaver, who occupied himself almost exclusively with program matters. Weaver broke old stereotypes, molded new. NBC became

the network of which it was said that it was lively, liberal and innovating. Most recently of all Weaver has plunged for a series of "spectaculars," hour and hour-and-a-half programs of lavish talent array and cost. Not all were successful and at least one advertiser, Hazel Bishop Lipstick, publicly cried, "we wuz robbed." Nonetheless the NBC showmanship flair has paid off and forced the reorganization of the CBS program command.

Now into the fall and the new television season, with a pitched battle for prestige shaping up between CBS and NBC. You shall see such outlays for talent this fall and winter as are without precedent this side of Hollywood. Weaver has estimated that the coming season's talent bill, all networks, all advertisers, all industry will run to \$500,000,000—a figure which must strike the eye of the thoughtful reader as containing too many ciphers, but is meant literally.

Think of these expenditures in terms of the value big trademarked goods manufacturers, in our present economic boom, place upon the vital privilege of entering the American parlors to peddle their wares. That a mass audience may be attracted, and a friendly hearing insured, they are prepared to spend half a billion dollars for stars, actors, musicians, properties, producers, directors, writers, scenic designers, union stagehands, cameramen and so on. Nor does this include the rental of the advertising time and the station hook-ups.

But what does this spending spree of 1955-1956 signify? Undoubtedly there will be some forced-draught improvement of television quality—more careful scripting, sharper show values. It can be argued that another fight for top kudos between CBS and NBC is healthier socially than no fight at all. Britain is encouraging a second, commercial, television system to compete against the entrenched BBC system and resist the stagnation which monopoly engenders. Still it is too bad that competition in the US has narrowed, again, to the two leading networks. For the nation's own welfare one would like to see rivalry in a country this size a little more than bilateral. The prophets of ten years ago said that television, with its potentially dreadful operating and talent costs, would shake down to

two giants, as now seems to be all too true. But one must regret the evaporation of the Dumont network and wonder as to the continuing sluggish semi-somnambulism of the American network. If American, now allied with Paramount Pictures, is to come alive, one is quite reasonable in asking, but when? It may be too late a year or two from now.

Any close student of recent events in television will surely expect that the new spending spree will be just that. Much of the money will be thrown away. It cannot be otherwise. Deals are going to be made by confused men of too little personal qualification, men who know advertising, perhaps, but not show business. They will be caught up in a maelstrom of rivalries and desperation. Whatever the interior struggle at NBC or CBS, or the open fight between the two giants, the talent brokers will be in the driver's seat. With clients to sell, axes to grind, careers to advance, angles to balance, the talent brokers will do too much of the basic thinking and the basic deciding of who gets what and for how much. All this in the frame of a boom and coming into a presidential year. Remember the talent brokers collect, minimally, 10 percent of all the money thrown around (or away).

Meanwhile the social point again. Television is becoming a club for blue chip corporations, blue chip budgets, blue chip stars. Television is inflationary as perhaps no other single force operating today within the economy. The spending spree which you are about to witness has the same swollen dimensions, typical of the Eisenhower and television booms, and so patly realized in turning the old radio \$64 payoff into today's "\$64,000 Question."

WENDELL BROGEN

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Notes on Contributors

CASHENDEN CASS is a young British writer. REINHOLD NIEBUHR is the author of a new book, *The Self and the Dramas of History*. ALAN F. WESTIN, who teaches at Harvard, is the author of *The Constitution and Loyalty Programs*. ANNE FREMANTLE's newest book is *The Age of Belief*. THEODORE ROETHKE was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for *The Lost Son* and other poems. NED O'GORMAN is a young American poet. WENDELL BROGEN writes frequently on television and the popular arts.

CORRESPONDENCE

► A Vote for Kefauver

SIRS:

To a common ordinary Democrat the Frederick W. Collins suggestion (NR, July 25) that Governor Stevenson should pump the Presidential convention gun and in a manner force himself on the party as a candidate, to the exclusion of other men who have more of a following than he has would seem to me the height of political folly; and distasteful to Mr. Stevenson himself.

Mr. Stevenson is not the choice of the rank and file of the Democratic Party and if he is nominated he will lose again; neither will the party here in California vote for a Southern conservative who has dragged his feet on many questions in Congress.

Senators Kefauver, Hill, Gore and Wayne Morse to mention a few, have battled courageously against the Dixon-Yates scandal and Hells Canyon giveaway program and my Democratic neighbors to a man, want Kefauver to head the ticket in '56 with his running mate picked from the men who have shown by their actions they are for the mainstay of our great nation, the common citizen.

E. L. NANCE

Ontario, Calif.

► Billy and the Bible

SIRS:

I have read and re-read Mr. Donald Meyer's article on Billy Graham in your issue of August 22. If it makes sense, if it helps your readers to a proper evaluation of Graham's work, then I ought to turn in my diploma as a Bachelor of Arts and my Phi Beta Kappa key as well, for evidently I just don't understand the English language.

Perhaps what Mr. Meyer is trying to tell us is that Graham's success as a preacher is due to his attractive and forceful way of presenting the old Bible text, "Man shall not live by bread alone . . .". But why doesn't he say so?

LUCIEN H. BOGGS

Jacksonville, Fla.

► Psychiatry and the Law

SIRS:

The series, "Lawyers, Psychiatrists, and Crime," (NR, August 1, 8, 15) al-

most convinced me that psychiatrists and lawyers, like men and mosquitoes, dogs and cats, are hereditary enemies. I am relieved to discover, however, that their mutual hostility is really an artificial conditioning, induced by extremists from both sides. . . .

I have been a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst for more than 20 years. For 12 years I was psychiatrist to the Institute for the Scientific Treatment of Delinquency in London. For the past five years I have been Executive Chairman of the Association for the Psychiatric Treatment of Offenders in New York City.

The work of the organizations mentioned above was always conducive to harmony between the psychiatric and legal professions. Our psychiatrists never allowed themselves to be drawn into courtroom wrangles, nor did they propagandize for changes in the legal setup. Instead we concentrated on providing psychotherapy and psychiatric examinations for convicted offenders, and usually our services were welcomed by the courts and the lawyers. . . . We co-operated in pre-sentence investigations to aid the judge in setting a just sentence. Lawyers frequently sought us out for consultations in providing a therapeutic program for clients that the court might approve.

While the newspapers (and indeed the present series of articles) play up the role of the forensic psychiatrist in the courtroom, I consider that psychiatry has most to offer to our system of justice through psychotherapy of convicted offenders, a non-controversial role that has tremendous potential as an alternative to a prison sentence, but one which is relatively unknown to the public and the legal profession.

MELITTA SCHMIDBERG, M.D.

New York City

► The Conscience of Dorothy Day

SIRS:

Thanks for publishing Dorothy Day's statement "Conscience and Civil Defense" (NR, August 22) on the June 15 protest against Civil Defense in New York City. I have great respect for her and for some others in the protesting group. But their action raises questions which should be carefully considered. Hindsight suggests the following:

1. Those who wish to make such a protest should not discredit it by such blunders as planning to give a statement to the Mayor when all the world knows he was in Europe at the time.

2. Those whose pacifism is religiously motivated should not carry picket signs while meeting for prayer and meditation. It looks insincere.

3. Those who are conscientiously motivated should not seek strength in numbers. They should not welcome anyone's company, regardless of motivation and understanding.

4. Those who take part in such a protest should not expect financial support from those who do not. In this case, when the judge set bail at \$1500 apiece, the group should have said they could not pay and should have gone to jail, relying on the 8th Amendment. Instead, their friends rushed out and borrowed \$45,000 and set up a provisional defense committee to raise funds.

5. The decision to press for jury trial seems most unfortunate. This means a delay of three to four years, assuring that the case will be tried out of its proper context.

6. With hindsight we can see that the June 15 Civil Defense drill did *not* create illusions, but rather shattered them. There has been little talk since then of preventive war.

7. The 30 who were arrested were by no means the only people who protested the drill. Many parts of New York City ignored the proceedings, and so did whole towns elsewhere.

There are many ways for us to implement our beliefs, and we are surely not all going to reach similar conclusions. But this is a plea for clarity in motivation and planning and action so that none will be guilty of embarrassing the causes he seeks to serve.

JOY FOWLE

New York City

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